

mouth, and 2 at about 40 miles up, to which distance some of the smaller slave schooners proceed for the purpose of receiving their cargoes from the great dealer in human beings in those regions, the Kafir chief, Manekos, who holds the country to the eastward of the river. A nearer route than that last mentioned leads from Delagoa Bay to Origstadt, across the Tamatie, the Omquinie, and the Manice, near their junction, where they form a large and sluggish sheet of water, most probably that seen by Louis Triechardt some twenty years ago. Canoes are used by the natives there; and the boers think of settling the country under the Drakensberg, where it is proposed, in consequence of the unhealthy situation of the old town, to build another, to be called Liebenburg, or New Origstadt.

XIX.—*Explorations into the Interior of Africa.*

By Dr. DAVID LIVINGSTON.

Extracted from Communications received from Lient.-Col. STEELE, F.R.G.S.; GEORGE FREGE, Esq., F.R.G.S.; The LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY; and THOMAS MACLEAR, Esq.

Read June 12, 1854.

Town of Sekeletu, Linyanti, 20th September, 1853.

MY DEAR COLONEL,—As soon as I could procure people willing to risk a journey through the country lately the scene of the gallant deeds of the Boers, I left Kuruman; and my companions being aware of certain wrathful fulminations uttered by General Piet Scholtz to deter me from again visiting the little strip of country which the Republicans fancy lies between Magáliesberg and Jerusalem, our progress was pretty quick till we entered lat. 19°, at a place that I have marked on my map as the Fever Ponds. Here the whole party, except a Bakwain lad and myself, was laid prostrate by fever. He managed the oxen and I the hospital, until, through the goodness of God, the state of the invalids permitted us again to move northwards. I did not follow our old path, but from Kamakama travelled on the magnetic meridian (N.N.W.), in order to avoid the *tsetze* (fly). This new path brought us into a densely wooded country, where the grass was from 8 to 10 feet high. The greater leafiness of the trees showed we were in a moist climate, and we were most agreeably surprised by the presence of vines growing luxuriantly, and yielding clusters of dark purple grapes. The seeds, as large as split peas and very astringent, leave but little room for pulp, though the grape itself is of good size. The Bakwain lad now became ill; but, by the aid of two Bushmen, we continued to make some progress. I was both driver

and road-maker, having either the axe or whip in hand all day long till we came to lat. $18^{\circ} 4'$. Here we discovered that the country adjacent to the Chobe was flooded: valleys looked like rivers, and after crossing several we came to one, the Sanshureh, which presented a complete barrier to further travelling with waggons. It was deep, $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile broad, and contained hippopotami. After searching in vain for a ford, our two Bushmen decamped. Being very anxious to reach the Makololo, I took one of the strongest of our invalids, crossed the Sanshureh in a small pontoon, kindly presented by Messrs. Webb and Codrington, and went N.N.W. across the flooded country in search of the Chobe. After splashing through about 20 miles of an inundated plain, we came to a mass of reed, which towards the N.E. seemed interminable. We then turned for a short distance in the direction of our former waggon-stand, and from a high tree were gratified by a sight of the Chobe; but such a mass of vegetation grew between the bank and the flowing river, that our utmost efforts failed in procuring a passage into it. The water among the reeds either became too deep, or we were unable to bend down the barrier of papyrus and reed bound together by a kind of convolvulus. You will understand the nature of our struggles, when I mention that a horrid sort of grass, about 6 feet high, and having serrated edges which cut the hands most cruelly, wore my strong moleskin "unmentionables" quite through at the knees, and my shoes (nearly new) at the toes. My handkerchief protected the former; but in subsequent travelling through the dense grass of the plains the feet fared badly. Though constantly wet up to the middle during the day, we slept soundly by night during the three days we spent among this mass of reeds, and only effected a passage into the open water of the Chobe river on the fourth day. After paddling along the river in the pontoon about 20 miles, we discovered a village of Makololo. We were unexpected visitors, and the more so since they believed that no one could cross the Chobe from the S. bank without their knowledge.

In their figurative language they said, "I had fallen on them as if from a cloud, yet came riding on a hippopotamus" (pontoon). A vague report of our approach had previously reached the chief, and two parties were out in search of us; but they had gone along the old paths. In returning to the waggons, which we did in canoes and in a straight line, we found the distance not more than 10 miles. Our difficulties were now ended, for a great number of canoes and about 140 people were soon dispatched from the town. They transported our goods and waggons across the country and river, and when we had been landed on the other side of the Chobe, we travelled northward till within about one day from Sesheké, in order to avoid the flooded lands adjacent to the river. We there

struck upon the path which Mr. Oswell and I travelled on horseback in 1850, and turning into it proceeded S.W. until we came to Sekeletu's town Linyanti. Our reception here was as warm as could have been expected. The chief Sekeletu, not yet 19 years of age, said he had got another father instead of Sebituane; he was not quite sure, however, about learning to read: "he feared it might change his heart and make him content with one wife only, as in the case of Sechele." It is pleasant to hear objections frankly stated.

About the end of July we embarked on our journey to the N., embarking at Sekhose's village on the Zambesé, or, as the aborigines universally name it, the Leeambye, viz., *the river*. This village is about 25 miles W. of the town of Sesheké. When I proposed to Sekeletu to examine his country and ascertain if there were any suitable locality for a mission, he consented frankly; but he had not yet seen me enough. Then he would not allow me to go alone; some evil might befall me, and he would be accountable. This and fever caused some delay, so that we did not get off till about the end of July. In the mean time I learned particulars of what had taken place here since my last visit in 1852.

The daughter of Sebituane had resigned the chieftainship into (Sekeletu's) her brother's hands. From all I can learn she did it gracefully and sincerely. Influential men advised her to put Sekeletu to death, lest he should become troublesome when he became older. She turned from their proposals in disgust, called a meeting, and, with a womanly gush of tears, said she had been induced to rule by her father, but her own inclination had always been to lead a domestic life. She therefore requested Sekeletu to take the chieftainship, and allow her to marry.

He was equally sincere in a continued refusal during several days, for he was afraid of being cut off by a pretender, who had the audacity to utter some threatening words in the assembly. I do not now wonder at the resolution of Sebituane's daughter, who had just come from a nine weeks' tour, in company with a crowd who would have been her courtiers: there was no want of food, oxen were slaughtered almost every day in numbers more than sufficient for the wants of all. They were all as kind and attentive to me as they could have been to her, yet to endure their dancing, roaring, and singing, their jesting, anecdotes, grumbling, quarrelling, murdering, and meanness, equalled a pretty stiff penance. These children of nature gave me a more intense disgust to heathenism, and a much higher opinion of the effects of missions among tribes in the S. which are reported to have been as savage as they, than I ever had before.

The pretender above referred to, after Sekeletu's accession, and at the time of my arrival, believing that he could effect his object

by means of a Portuguese slave-merchant and a number of armed Mambari, encouraged them to the utmost. The selling of children had been positively forbidden by the lawful chief Sekeletu, but his rival transported the slave-trading party across the Leeambye river, and gave them full permission to deal in all the Batoka and Bashukulompo villages to the E. of it. A stockade was erected at Katongo, and a flag-staff for the Portuguese banner planted, and in return for numerous presents of ivory and cattle, that really belonged to Sekeletu, the pretender received a small cannon. Elated with what he considered success, he came down here with the intention of murdering Sekeletu himself, having no doubt but that, after effecting this, he should, by the aid of his allies, easily reduce the whole tribe. We met him on our way to Sesheké, as we travelled there from Linyanti, and a very slight circumstance served to derange the whole conspiracy. The pretender carried a battle-axe, with which he had arranged with his confederates to hamstring Sekeletu, as a signal, when he rose up from their first interview. I happened to sit down between him and the pretender, and soon feeling disposed to retire for the evening, said to Sekeletu, "Where do we sleep to-night?" He replied, "Come, I will show you." We rose together, and my body covering that of Sekeletu, the attempt was not made. The accomplices came and revealed the whole in the evening. "If what you say you know to be true," answered Sekeletu, "take him off;" he was instantly led forth and executed in a hut close by. I knew nothing of it till the following day. Others, deeply implicated, were afterwards put to death in the same off-hand way; and when I remonstrated against shedding human blood, the counsellors calmly replied, "You see we are still Boers—we are not yet taught." Another Portuguese slave-merchant came also from the W. He remained here only three days, and finding no market, departed. A large party of Mambari was encamped by Katongo, about the time of our arrival at Linyanti. No slaves were sold to them; and when they heard that I had actually crossed the Chobe, they fled precipitately. The Makololo remonstrated, saying I would do them no harm, but the Mambari asserted that I would take all their goods from them because they bought children. The merchant I first spoke of had probably no idea of the risk he ran in listening to the tale of a disaffected under chief. He was now in his stockade at Katongo, and influential men proposed to expel both him and the Mambari from the country. Dreading the results which might follow a commencement of hostilities, I mentioned the difficulty of attacking a stockade, which could be defended by perhaps forty muskets. "Hunger is strong enough," said an under chief—"a very great fellow is he." As the chief sufferers in the event of an attack would be the poor slaves chained in

gangs, I interceded for them, and as the result of that intercession, of which of course they are ignorant, the whole party will be permitted to depart in peace: but no stockading will be allowed again.

Our company, which consisted of 160 men, our fleet of 33 canoes, proceeded rapidly up the river towards the Borotse. I had the choice of all the canoes, and the best was 34 feet long and 20 inches wide. With six paddlers we passed through 44 miles of latitude, by one day's pull of 10½ hours: if we add the longitude to this, it must have been upwards of 50 miles' actual distance. The river is indeed a magnificent one. It is often more than a mile broad, and adorned with numerous islands of from 3 to 5 miles in length. These and the banks, too, are covered with forest, and most of the trees on the brink of the water send down roots from their branches like the banian. The islands at a little distance seem rounded masses of sylvan vegetation of various hues, reclining on the bosom of the glorious stream. The beauty of the scene is greatly increased by the date palm and lofty palmyra towering above the rest, and casting their feathery foliage against a cloudless sky. The banks are rocky and undulating; many villages of Kanyeti, a poor but industrious people, are situated on both of them. They are expert hunters of hippopotami and other animals, and cultivate grain extensively. At the bend of Katima Molelo the bottom of the river bed begins to be rocky, and continues so the whole way to about lat. 16°, forming a succession of rapids and cataracts, which are dangerous when the river is low. The rocks are of hard sandstone and porphyritic basalt. The rapids are not visible when the river is full; but the cataracts of Kalé Bombwe and Nambwe are always dangerous. The fall of them is from 4 to 6 feet in perpendicular height; but the cataracts of Gonyé (hard by) excel them all. The main fall of these is over a straight ledge of rock, about 60 or 70 yards long and 40 feet deep. Tradition reports the destruction in this place of two hippopotamus hunters, who, too eager in the pursuit of a wounded animal, were with their prey drawn down into the frightful gulf. We also digged some yams in what was said to have been the garden of a man, who of old came down the river and led out a portion of it here for irrigation. Superior minds must have arisen from time to time in these regions, but ignorant of the use of letters, they have left no memorial. One never sees a grave nor a stone of remembrance set up. The very rocks are illiterate; they contain no fossils. All these beautiful and rocky parts of the valley of the river are covered with forest, and infested with the *tsetze* fly; but in other respects the country seems well adapted for a residence. When, however, we come to the northern confines of lat. 16°, the *tsetze* suddenly cease, and the high banks seem to leave the river and to stretch away in

ridges of about 300 feet high to the N.N.E. and N.N.W., until between 20 and 30 miles apart; the intervening space, 100 miles in length, is the Barotse country proper: it is annually inundated not by rains but by the river, as Lower Egypt is by the Nile, and one portion of this comes from the N.W. and another from the N. There are no trees in this valley, except such as were transplanted for the sake of shade by the chief Santuru; but it is covered with coarse succulent grasses, which are the pasturage of large herds of cattle during a portion of the year. One of these species is 12 feet high, and as thick as a man's thumb. The villages and towns are situated on mounds, many of which were constructed artificially. I have not put down all the villages that I visited, and many were seen at a distance; but there are no large towns, for the mounds on which alone towns and villages are built are all small, and the people require to live separate on account of their cattle. Nariéle, the capital of the Barotse country, does not contain 1000 inhabitants; the site of it was constructed artificially. It was not the ancient capital. The river now flows over the site of that, and all that remains of what had cost the people of Santuru the labour of many years, is a few cubic yards of earth. As the same thing has happened to another ancient site, the river seems wearing eastwards. Ten feet of rise above low-water mark submerges the whole valley, except the foundations of the huts, and 2 feet more would sweep away the towns. This never happens, though among the hills below the valley the river rises 60 feet, and then floods the lands adjacent to Sesheké on both sides. The valley contains, as I said, a great number of villages and cattle-stations. These, and large herds of cattle grazing on the succulent herbage, meet the eye in every direction. On visiting the ridges, we found them to be only the commencement of lands which are never inundated: these are covered with trees and abound in fruitful gardens, in which are cultivated sugar-cane, sweet potato, two kinds of manioc, two kinds of yam-bananas, millet, &c. Advantage is taken of the inundation, too, to raise large quantities of maize and Caffre corn, of large grain and beautiful whiteness. These, with abundance of milk and plenty of fish in the river, make the people always refer to the Barotse country as the land of plenty. No part of the country can be spoken of as salubrious. The fever must be braved if a mission is to be established: it is very fatal even among natives. I have had eight attacks of it; the last very severe: but I never laid by. I tried native remedies in order to discover if they possessed any valuable means of cure; but after being stewed in vapour baths, smoked like a red herring over fires of green twigs in hot potsherds, and physicked *secundum black artem*, I believe that our own medicines are more efficacious and safer. I have not relinquished the search, and as I make it a rule to keep

on good terms with my professional brethren, I am not without hope that some of their means of re-establishing the secretions (and to this, indeed, all their efforts are directed) may be well adapted for this complaint.

I did not think it my duty to go towards *Mosioathunya*, for though a hilly country, the proximity to Mosilikatze renders it impossible for the Makololo to live there; but I resolved to know the whole Barotse country before coming to the conclusion now reached that the ridge E. of Nariete is the only part of the country that can be fixed on for a mission. I therefore left Sekeletu's party at Nariete, the Barotse capital, and went northwards. The river presents the same appearance of low banks, without trees, till we come to $14^{\circ} 38'$ lat. Here again it is forest to the water's edge, and *tsetze*. I might have turned now; but the river Londa, or Leeba, comes from the capital of a large state of the former name, and the chief being reported friendly to foreigners, if I succeed in reaching the W. coast, and am permitted to return by this river, it will be water-conveyance for perhaps two-thirds of the way. We went, therefore, to the confluence of the Leeba or Londa (not Lonta as we have written it) with the Leeambye: it is in $14^{\circ} 11'S$. The Leeba comes from the N. and by W. or N.N.W.; while the Leeambye there abruptly quits its northing and comes from the E.N.E. (The people pointed as its course due E. Are the Maninche or Bashukulompo river and Leeambye not one river, dividing and meeting again down at the Zambese?) The Loeti, with its light-coloured water, flows into the Leeambye in $14^{\circ} 18'$. It comes from Lebale, which is probably a country through which a Portuguese merchant informed me he had passed, and had to cross as many as ten considerable rivers in one day: the Loeti comes from the W.N.W. The current of the Leeambye is rapid; 100 yards in 60 seconds of time, or between 4 and 5 miles an hour. Our elevation must have been considerable; but I had to regret having no means of ascertaining how much it was. The country flooded by the river ends on the W. bank before we reach the Loeti, and there is an elevated table-land, called Mango, on which grows grass, but no trees. The Barotse country, when inundated, presents the appearance of a lake from 20 to 30 miles broad and 100 long.

The Makololo quote the precedent of Santuru, who, when he ruled this country, was visited by Mambari, but refused them permission to buy his people as slaves. This enlightened chief deserves a paragraph, and as he was a mighty hunter, you will glance at it with no unfriendly eye. He was very fond of rearing the young of wild animals in his town, and, besides a number of antelopes, had two tame hippopotami. When I visited his first

capital, the people led me to one end of the mound and showed me some curious instruments of iron, which are just in the state he left them. They are surrounded by trees, all of which he transplanted when young. "On these," said the people, "Santuru was accustomed to present his offerings to the gods" (Barimo—which means departed souls too). The instruments consisted of an upright stem, having numerous branches attached, on the end of each of which was a miniature axe, or hoe, or spear. Detached from these was another, which seemed to me to be the guard of a basket-hilted sword. When I asked if I might take it as a curiosity, "O no, he refuses." "Who refuses?" "Santuru." This seems to show a belief in a future state of existence. After explaining to them the nature of true worship, and praying with them in our simple form, which needs no offering on the part of the worshipper except that of the heart, we planted some fruit-tree seeds, and departed in peace.

I may relate another incident which happened at the confluence of the Leeba and Leeambye. Having taken lunar observations, we were waiting for a meridian altitude for the latitude, before commencing our return. My chief boatman was sitting by, in order to bind up the instruments as soon as I had finished. There was a large halo round the sun, about 20° in diameter. Thinking that the humidity of the atmosphere which this indicates might betoken rain, I asked him if his experience did not lead him to the same view. "O no," said he, "it is the Barimo who have called a peecho (assembly). Don't you see they have placed the Lord (sun) in their centre?"

On returning towards Nariela, I went to the eastern ridge in order to examine that, and to see the stockade of the Portuguese slave-merchant, which was at Katongo. He had come from the furthest inland station of the Portuguese, opposite Benguela. I thought of going westward on my further travels in company with him, but the sight of gangs of poor wretches in chains at the stockade induced me to resolve to proceed alone.

Some of the Mambari visited us subsequently to their flight, of which I spoke before. They speak a dialect very much resembling the Barotse. They have not much difficulty in acquiring the dialects, even though but recently introduced to each other. They plait their hair in threefold cords, and arrange it down by the sides of the head. They offered guns and powder for sale at a cheaper rate than traders can do who come from the Cape Colony; but the Makololo despise Portuguese guns, because different from those in the possession of other Bechuanas—the bullets are made of iron. The slave-merchant seemed anxious to show kindness, influenced probably by my valuable passport and

letter of introduction from the Chevalier Duprat, who holds the office of arbitrator in the British and Portuguese mixed commission in Cape Town. This is the first instance in which the Portuguese have seen the Leeambye in the interior. The course of Pereira must be shifted northwards. He never visited the Barotse : so the son and companions of Santuru assert ; and the event of the visit of a white man is such a remarkable affair among Africans, it could scarcely be forgotten in a century.

I have not, I am sorry to confess, discovered a healthy locality. The whole of the country of Sebituane is unhealthy. The current of the river is rapid as far as we went, and showed we must have been on an elevated table-land ; yet the inundations cause fever to prevail very extensively. I am at a loss what to do, but will not give up the case as hopeless. Shame upon us missionaries if we are to be outdone by slave-traders ! I met Arabs from Zanzibar, subjects of the Imaum of Muscat, who had been quite across the continent. They wrote Arabic fluently in my note-book, and boldly avowed that Mahomet was greatest of all the prophets.

At one time, as I mentioned above, I thought of going W. in company with the slave-traders from Katongo, but a variety of considerations induced me to decide on going alone. I think of Loanda, though the distance is greater, as preferable to Benguela, and as soon as the rains commence will try the route on horseback. Trees and rivers are reported, which would render travelling by means of a waggon impossible. The Portuguese are carried in hammocks hung on poles ; two slaves carry a man. It does not look well.

I am sorry to say that the boers destroyed my celestial map, and thereby rendered it impossible for me to observe as many occultations as I had intended. I have observed very few ; these I now send to Mr. Maclear, in order that he may verify my lunars. If I am not mistaken, we have placed our rivers, &c. about 2° of longitude too far E. Our waggon-stand, instead of being 26° E., is not more than $23^{\circ} 50'$ or 24° . It is probable that an error of my sextant, of which I was not aware, deranged the calculations of the gentleman who kindly undertook to examine them. I send many lunar observations too, and hope it may be convenient for Mr. Maclear to examine them, and let you know whether I am right or wrong in my calculations. The map prepared by Mr. Oswell and myself need not be altered yet. It is admirably well adapted for all we pretended to, viz. a guide to future investigators. In the enclosed sketch you will see I give no more than I saw. I took the bearings of every reach of the river, both in ascending and descending, and allowing for the variation of the compass (21° W.) reduced the sketch according to the latitudes and longitudes obtained by observations ; I am not well satisfied

with the reduction. I have not been able to insert the islands, and other remarks which would convey information, as well as the form of the river; but you will see how nearly my sketch from actual observation agrees with our map from native information; and I shall send an unreduced sketch, in order that, if you wish it, a finer pen than mine may reduce it. The watch performs remarkably well, though deranged for some time by an unfortunate knock; I think it will yet do good service. If you know any one at Loanda on the W. coast, send me a thermometer, graduated to show the point of ebullition of water at different heights, but please remember not to lay out much on that which may be lost. I should like to ascertain the watershed of the E. and W. The continent seems to be an elevated table-land, sloping chiefly towards the E.

Sportsmen have still some work before them in the way of discovering all the fauna of Africa. This country abounds in game; and, beyond Barotse, the herds of large animals surpass anything I ever saw. Eilands and buffaloes, their tameness was shocking to me: 81 buffaloes defiled slowly before our fire one evening, and lions were impudent enough to roar at us. On the S. of the Chobe, where bushmen abound, they are very seldom heard: these brave fellows teach them better manners. My boatman informed me that he had seen an animal, with long wide spreading horns like an ox, called *liombikalela*—perhaps the modern bison; also another animal, which does not live in the water, but snorts like a hippopotamus, and is like that animal in size—it has a horn, and may be the Asiatic rhinoceros. And we passed some holes of a third animal, which burrows from the river inland, has short horns, and feeds only by night. I did not notice the burrows at the time of passing, but I give you the report as I got it. Sable antelopes abound, and so does the *nakong*; and there is a pretty little antelope on the Sesheké, called "*teeanyane*," which seemed new to me. These animals did not lie in my line, so you must be content with this brief notice.

The birds are in great numbers on the river, and the sand-martins never leave it. We saw them in hundreds in mid-winter, and many beautiful new trees were interesting objects of observation; but I had perpetually to regret the absence of our friend Mr. Oswell. I had no one to share the pleasure which new objects impart, and, instead of pleasant conversation in the evenings, I had to endure the everlasting ranting of Makololo.

Believe me yours,
most affectionately,

DAVID LIVINGSTON.